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REVIEWS

WAR TIME CONTROL OF INDUSTRY 1

This book illustrates what a well trained scholar may accomplish in a short time, working under pressure. Dr. Gray has put into a few pages the leading facts about the British government's control of economic life for war purposes. It is obviously and confessedly only a sketch, yet of great value to all, and not least to the administration in Washington, where it is in great demand.

The history of the policy of the British government is divided into three periods. The earliest is the first ten months of the war, when the Liberals were in power. The second covers the eighteen months of coalition government. And the third is the period of the war cabinet, in control during the last year covered by this book, December, 1916 to December, 1917. As the government passed from one stage to another, it grew in courage and in the tightness of its control over trade and industry.

The plan is to deal with such special topics as railways, munitions, coal mining, shipping, food, and agriculture. In the treatment of each the arrangement is chronological.

Some of the major generalizations may be best expressed in the author's own words: "In its administration of the railways the Government has been perhaps more fortunate than in any other of its essays in state control. . . . The record is undramatic and enviable, especially when compared with the crisis and discontent which marked the advent of government control in other industries."

¹ War Time Control of Industry: The Experience of England. By Howard L. Gray. The Macmillan Co., 1918. 304 pp. Price, \$1.75.

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The "triumphant results of the Ministry of Munition's first year" were due to the discovery of this fact: "munitions cannot be obtained merely by ordering. You have got to see (in the words of Mr. Montague) that the man who takes your orders has the plant and the labour; you have got to follow up the work process by process; you have got to provide from the beginning to the end everything that is necessary. That is the cardinal principle of the Munitions Department."

It was "the Government's endeavour to regulate distribution as between home consumers that gave rise to one of the most remarkable of war-time devices. This is embodied in what are known as Priority Regulations. The extension of them to many industries and the obstructive part which they can so readily play give them a first-rate importance."

If there is a hero in this story, it is Lloyd George who met one problem after another, solving each in its turn. In the management of agriculture, however, it is "the vigorous hand of Mr. Prothero" that is in evidence, with his energy, moderation and firmness. How England took a census of her agricultural resources, advanced capital, legalized the seizure of such land as was not fully utilized, provided fertilizers and labor, fixed a minimum wage for the agricultural worker, and set a price for grain for six years, is an eloquent tribute to the organizing power of the British government.

The reader has a feeling that the results of the various measures are inadequately set forth. Especially would he like to know more about the less dramatic failures which ended neither in strikes nor disaster in battle. The inability of the government to make adequate use of German prisoners in agriculture and its inability to manufacture tractors for agricultural purposes are examples of the minor failures that are given. The sending of skilled labor into the army, labor which had later to be returned, is a conspicuous major failure.

In the final chapter the author compares the American with the British situation. He points out that while the United States has been on the whole more prompt in its action, the British government has been more thoro-going.

It is questionable, however, whether this would apply to the railroads and the merchant marine; in the case of the former the United States was slower to act than Britain; and in the case of the latter more thoro-going. This last chapter, indeed, is the least satisfactory in the book, showing signs of hasty generalization.

The extent to which English experience has been of use in America is indicated in the concluding paragraph of the book. "By the prompt taking over of her railways, the tardy taking over of her mines, the efficient control over her munition shops, and the statutory cooperation of labor. England has brought great essential industries to a stage of efficiency which America may well be proud to attain. It was at first hoped that voluntary cooperation in the United States might achieve what in England has required state control. This hope is no longer entertained with regard to merchant shipping or the It is fading in the case of the coal mines. brightness has been dimmed by the introduction of various restrictions upon trading in foodstuffs and in wool. It persists still relative only to the production of munitions, the conciliation of labour, and the consumption of food. Always, however, as the hope wanes, the experiences recorded in the preceding chapters are turned to, and the wisdom taught by them is carefully pondered."

As to the post-bellum results of war time control the author makes these significant remarks. "Assurance is given that all measures are temporary and that with peace the conditions of peace will be restored. What will have been created, however, is precedent and experience; and in the industrial world which emerges from the war these may have more importance than is at the moment anticipated."

One of the shortcomings of the book is the lack of first-hand information, such as comes from observation and close contact. Circumstances have made possible the use of only the most obvious of journals and government reports. Partly owing to this fact, however, the book is objective in its treatment. Tho a war time production, it is devoid of high color.

This its strength and its merit. Altho the work will probably be superseded in parts by more exhaustive studies, it will remain of great value as an outline, especially if brought up to date at the end of the war.

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HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES 1

It is impossible in a review notice to do justice to the excellence of this two volume study of the history of the labor movement in the United States. It is indeed a fitting conclusion to twelve years of research and compilation on the part of Professor Commons and his collaborators.

These volumes, as well as that most valuable collection of sources, Documentary History of American Industrial Society, were made possible through the life-long sympathetic interest of Professor R. T. Ely in the history and problems of organized labor. In 1886, he stated in the preface of his Labor Movement in America, "I offer this book merely as a sketch which will, I trust, some day be followed by a book worthy of the title History of Labor in the New World. He never forgot that ideal, and about twenty years later was able to interest various persons who aided financially to such an extent that a staff of assistants, working under Professor Commons, was employed to comb the country for labor data and to write the finished story of the endeavors of the American workers to better their condition. A seminar in "Labor" was also organized at Wisconsin under Professor Commons, and graduate students made detailed studies of special phases of the labor movement, some of which have been published. Many of them have been freely

¹ History of Labour in the United States. By John R. Commons, David J. Saposs, Helen L. Sumner, E. B. Mittelman, H. E. Hoagland, John B. Andrews, Selig Perlman, with an introductory note by Henry W. Farnam. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1918. Vol. i, pp. xxv, 623; vol. ii, pp. xx, 620.